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inches in diameter, was hacked out. The piece of wood was brought back to the settlement and the whole morning was spent in hacking it down to the proper size. First a cutlass was used, then a wooden-handled knife. A series of hacks or cuts about one-half inch apart was made along the surfaces to be reduced. Then the wood was reduced by a shaving motion of the blade. The afternoon was spent in smoothing down the wood to an oval shape. For this purpose the edge of the knife was used as a scraper, as well as an old cassava grater. Great care was spent in getting the proper taper, and the balance and resiliency of the bow were tested by frequent flexions. Then the ends were determined, with due regard to symmetry, and the pegs whittled at the head and foot. The next morning was spent in making the groove in the back with a broken piece of mirror glass. Then the bow was smoothed all over with a purumo leaf, which is rough and approximates the action of sand paper. Following this the bow was taken down to the creek and placed in the water, where it was left for three days to be seasoned. On the fourth day it was removed and rubbed all over with aporokune gum, which is said to toughen it as well as improve its appearance. Then it was strung.[1]

The bow string is made of the fibre of the kraua grass, (*Bromelia* sp.) which is specially cultivated in the fields for this purpose. The long semi-stiff leaves are shredded through a loop of string attached to a post of the house, as described by Roth[2]. The fibre is then spun into three-twine string by rolling it on the thigh.

Arrows are of several types, but each consists of the following parts (Plate 3, *b*). The head (piatura) is, in these days, made of an old piece of iron, usually a discarded cutlass filed down to the proper shape, or of wood. The epuru is the small piece of wood into which the base of the head is set; on harpoon types the epuru end is pointed and fits into a socket at the base of the head; it is usually made of wawkonse wood. The epuru is set into the end of the hollow shaft (*mapuru*), which is made from a reed-like plant cultivated in the fields for this purpose and called by the Caribs mapuru epui (*Gynerium saccharoides*). The shaft is usually split in receiving the epuru and must be bound around with fine kraua

[1] Bow, urapa; head, apono; foot, opinyoni natari; bow string, urapa amoti; strengthening string, shyatumamoti.

[2] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians*, p. 114.

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415 177 **Imported Containers.** In many of the villages which maintain contact with the trading posts, European utensils and containers are to be found. The "sauce pan," a small tin pail of about one quart capacity, with a lid, is issued as part of their regular equipment to wood cutters and other laborers who are employed by outsiders operating in the area. An enameled metal plate is similarly issued. Consequently, these utensils are to be found in households where the men have worked for outsiders.

The Caribs use no eating utensils of their own, but some families have obtained metal spoons in trade from the shops.

415 322 **Drink Barrel.** Every household aspires to the ownership of a kanu, which is illustrated in Plate 20, *b*. The kanu is used as a reservoir in which alcoholic drinks are fermented and from which they are served. The specimen illustrated has a capacity of about forty gallons. It is made from sorodani wood, the same which is popular for the making of korials. As can be seen, the vessel is made from one large log of wood, which has been hollowed out, and which has a pointed projection at each end. The excavating of the interior is accomplished by the same methods used in making korials. A depression is first hacked with an axe. This depression is then filled with hot coals from a fire, which are fanned so that they will char the wood as deeply as possible. Then the charred wood is removed with axe, knife, or cutlass, and the process repeated until a cavity of the proper size has been made. The [532] projections at the ends, which are exactly similar in form, are said to represent the head and tail, respectively, of the armadillo. The kanu, when filled with beverage, is covered by a piece of bark which protects the contents from insects and dirt. The whole [343] thing is kept in a specially constructed building, the kanu'eti.

Bamboo Containers. Only one type of bamboo container is used by the Caribs at present, an unguent pot in which is kept the face paint. These vessels are simply tubes of bamboo; the upper end is cut off below a node, leaving the container open at this end; the lower end is also cut off below a node, so that the septum of the node serves as the bottom of the container. On several [532] specimens crude designs are scratched in the outer cortex of the bamboo, and on one of these was observed the only attempt to portray the human form in line which I discovered on the Barama.

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damaged. Craft made of mora and crabwood have come to my notice, and I am told that other woods are also used for this purpose. The tree trunk, after being felled, is stripped of bark and worked with cutlass and axe into the shape of the hull. Then a depression is hacked in the top and hot coals placed in it. These are fanned, so that the wood will be charred to a depth of a few inches, following which the coals are removed and the charred wood scraped out with a chisel made of an old cutlass. This process is repeated until the canoe is hollowed out completely and the walls are of the proper thickness. Finishing work is done with knives obtained from the trading posts. The craft may be spread or not according to the wishes and the enterprise of the owner. Struts of wood are inserted between the gunwales at the widest point and pounded fore or aft toward sections where the gunwales are closer together, thus widening the opening. It is said, although I did not have the opportunity to observe this process, that the spreading is somewhat facilitated by filling the hollow with water into which hot stones are dropped, making the water warm and so softening the wood. When the korial is finished the bow and stern each slope upward and overhang the water. The steersman sits in the stern without any support. Other passengers sit either on the bottom of the korial or on small transverse pieces of wood which are placed at intervals as seats. The completed korial is provided with a number of transverse struts, wedged between the gunwales, which must be kept in position if the craft is not to warp. Every korial carries a small calabash to be used as a bailer as it is a rare korial which does not leak. The craft range in length approximately from ten to eighteen feet. Beams range from eighteen inches to two feet. Characteristically, they are extremely unsteady and, especially in old specimens which have become warped, a fine balance and reciprocity of movement is required of all occupants. The strongest paddler usually takes the bow seat with a weaker member of the crew, a woman, for instance, at the stern. Other occupants fill the intervening places and are expected to paddle. The load of freight is carried amidships, usually covered by plantain or banana leaves to protect it from the rain. Both the bowman and the sternsman are expected to assist in the steering.

Paddles used for the korial, as well as the woodskin, are the

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In the field of art the Caribs have achieved only modest results. The simple decorations of household utensils and furniture, personal ornament and decoration have been described elsewhere. A limited amount of sculpture in wild beeswax is performed for amusement. The few examples of this art observed by me were all caricatures, consciously humorous depictions of actual persons or animals, with no religious or magical significance.

Examples of musical composition and songs have been presented earlier in this section. Three general types of musical instruments are in use. The sambura, or drum, has a wooden frame with two heads of skin. Purple heart and silver belly (*Copaifera publiflora* and *Nectandra* sp.) are said to be the best woods for making the frame. A cylindrical section is cut from a tree, the outer bark removed, and the inside hollowed out with knives and chisels until the walls of the frame are about one half inch in thickness. The skin heads are made of akuri skin (*Dasyprocta aguti*) from which the hair has been removed. The original outer surface of the skin is exposed when it is fixed to the drum. The heads are each held in place by a hoop of tough withes bound about with kraua string and mani gum. The two hoops are united by a cross-string of twisted kraua fiber, which is attached in the European manner, and which may be tightened or loosened to tune the drum. Only one end of the drum is struck, and across the other, or silent head, is stretched a thin double thread of kraua, in which is twisted a small stick about the size of a toothpick. This stick, or resounder, lies against the silent skin head, and its position, together with the tautness of the two strings which support it, affect the tone of the instrument.

In use, the drum is usually held under the left arm, against the side of the body, and struck with two sticks. The stick held in the left hand strikes the drumhead near its periphery in short light strokes, while the stick in the right hand strikes the center of the head more vigorously. The most usual rhythm is short (left), long-long-long (right). The drum is provided with a length of kraua string by which it may be slung over the shoulder for carrying.

Roth says that it is probable that "the two-skin drum was introduced through the Arawak and Carib Islanders from North America, after the European invasion. Such an hypothesis would

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776 coals, which enables human beings to locate the epos in the night time. There is little evidence to show that in the Barama country the epos are associated with natural species or features of the environment in the same way in which, for instance, the tree spirits are. They seem to be free spirits of the bush, bent for the most part upon mischief. And from the point of view of holiness, they seem to occupy the lowest rank in the order of Carib supernatural beings. They alone can be seen and conversed with by laymen, and their nearness to ordinary mortals decreases the amount of respect paid to them in comparison with other spirits. A man may match his wits with an epo with a good chance of emerging the winner. As illustrated in Myths 7 and 8, men may sometimes play very uncomfortable tricks upon them. Thus the epos are the clowns of the Carib pantheon, spirits with whom men may carry on a good-natured, though serious, competition in the bush.

Certain other supernatural forces remain to be discussed later under the head of magic.

775 **Ghosts and Death Customs.** In addition to the spirits described above, which lead an independent existence, a second class of supernatural beings is concerned to a certain degree in the affairs of mortal men, namely the ghosts of human beings.

764 322 When an individual has died the body is dressed in the person's best raiment and ornaments. A coffin is made of wood. Informants agree that the use of a wooden coffin is an ancient custom and that it has not been introduced by missionaries or other outsiders.[1] The coffin is most often made of upaiya wood (unidentified). [824] Some informants say that upaiya wood is used exclusively for this purpose, and that coffins are made of no other. Others say that any wood or an old korial may be used. In cases where the coffin is made especially for the purpose, that is, when an old korial is not used, it is made of a tree trunk hollowed by the same process used in making a korial or a cassiri barrel. It is provided with a lid of wood, and the inside is lined with fresh leaves. A grave three to four feet deep is dug in the floor of the house occupied by the deceased (grave: munano). 764 Burial takes place usually within twenty-four hours after death, although in some cases it is postponed until the second day. In former times, it is said, the sur-

[1] Two negro prospectors who died during my stay in the area were buried in shallow graves without coffins.

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a, Ordinary bench or stool made from one piece of wood and provided with four "feet."

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b, Early morning scene in a Carib household. Note tripodal drying rack over fire at right.

[End plate 18]

000 where others were cutting fields for cash crops.

*177 657 241 439 From time to time, the Agricultural Field Assistant arranged for bunches of bananas and plantains to be sent to the Guyana Marketing Corporation in Georgetown. Two Carib farmers were involved in this enterprise. From November through December, 1970, 607 pounds of bananas, 353 pounds of plantains, and thirty-five pounds of apple bananas were received by the Guyana Marketing Corporation from Baramita Air Strip. This returned a payment of $58.83.[6] Later, another man was encouraged to bring out a crop of limes from Baramita settlement for shipment to Guyana Marketing Corporation.

*177 657 • 322 439 Still another new market opportunity involves handicrafts. Under the encouragement of the Welfare Officer for Amerindian Handicraft and Artifacts, the Project Officer looked into the local possibilities. He developed the manufacture of decorative bow and arrow sets. Smaller versions of the bows and arrows in use were designed. Both bows and arrows were about three feet long. One bow and two arrows were mounted on small wooden stands. Craftsmanship was put at a premium, and only the fancier washiba and leopard woods were used. A variety of arrow points for spearing fish and hunting game animals and birds no longer generally in use were revived. Men were paid between $3.00 and $5.00 per set, depending on the quality and the market in Georgetown. Having gathered all the materials, it generally took a man from two to three days of steady work to complete a set. Mostly only residents at the Air Strip made them, and any set that did not meet the Project Officer's standards was not accepted. At the end of the first year, several hundred of these sets had been

*177 657 322 439 sent to Georgetown. A few times when the Welfare Officer for Amerindian Handicraft and Artifacts had a definite buyer, she made a special request for the large functional bows and arrows. However, this opportunity affected only one man who made these especially well.

*177 657 439 285 412 At other times, a few pots, matapis, the cylindrical basket used to squeeze prussic acid out of manioc, and sifters, used to grate the cylinder of dried manioc pulp, and other basketry work were sent to Georgetown.

*177 657 226 439 Another episode involving regional markets concerns tropical fish. For a few weeks from the end of April and into May 1971, Aenus Catfish, both speckled and plain, were collected. These fish are about an inch and a half long and can be easily caught by hand or net in the stream beds during the dry seasons. In early April, letter correspondence developed between the Project Officer and the proprietor of an aquarium supply company in Georgetown. The Project Officer was offered $50 per thousand of these fish, and he appointed a man with the help of his adult son to initiate collecting catfish. The first Friday, 650 catfish were sent to Georgetown in open tins via Guyana Airways. The men were paid 3¢ per fish, and the rest of the income was used in the care and storing of these fish. The proprietor paid the air freight costs. More generally men were encouraged to collect catfish, and residents from the satellite settlements as well as the Air Strip were involved. Usually on Friday morning, men would bring their catch to the air strip well before the plane came. Each man would bring as few as twenty-five fish which brought 75¢. The Project Officer would supervise the counting of fish and the loading of filled tins onto